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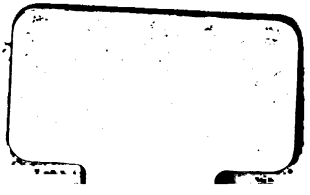
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HISTORY OF THORNBURY CASTLE.

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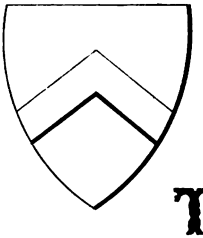
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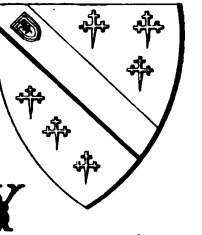
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The HISTORY of THORNBVRY CASTLE



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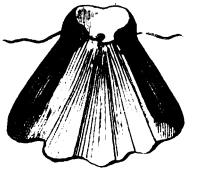


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HISTORY

OF

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BY RICHARD ELLIS.

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HISTORY

OF

THORNBURY CASTLE.

THORNBURY CASTLE, in Gloucestershire, seated in the Manor and Hundred of Thornbury, claims a very distinguished place, if not the most distinguished, on the list of those Castellated remains which, while they aimed at the comforts of an advancing stage of civilization, still hesitated to surrender those means of defence which were deemed to be essential to the safety, not less than to the dignity, of the English Noble.

We shall commence our account by showing, as concisely as possible, the descent of the Manor, and, after noticing the ancient surveys of the Castle, conclude by a short description of its present remains.

Brictric, the son of Algar, a Saxon Thane, is stated,

in Doomsday, to have held this Manor in the reign of Edward the Confessor, but having given offence to Maud, the daughter of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, previous to her marriage with William, Duke of Normandy, by refusing to marry her himself; his property was seized by that Monarch on the conquest, and bestowed, seemingly in revenge, upon the Queen.

Her Son, William Rufus, granted the Manor to Robert Fitz Hamon,* a Norman adherent, whose fourth daughter and co-heir (Mabel or Sibilla) became wife of Robert, commonly called the "Consul," a natural son of King Henry the first, by Neste, a daughter of Rees ap Tudor, Prince of South Wales.

Fitz Hamon died about 1107, and the King created

* This Norman chieftain came to England with the conqueror, and was himself descended from Duke Rollo. He was lord of Astremeville and other possessions in Normandy. His wife was Sibill one of the daughters of Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury. He died of a wound received at Falaise, and was buried, according to Dugdale, first in the Chapter House, and afterwards between two pillars on the north side of the choir of the Abbey of Tewkesbury, of which he was the founder.

Robert "the Consul," Earl of Gloucester.[b] He was father of William, also Earl of Gloucester, who left at his decease, in 1173,—three daughters, his co-heirs, of whom Amicia, married to Richard De Clare, Earl of Hertford,[c] became eventually the sole heiress, and in her male descendants the Manor of Thornbury was vested for four generations; and until the death of Gilbert De Clare, the last Earl of Gloucester of that family, who was killed at Bannockburn, in 1313. The inheritance of the Clares was then partitioned among his sisters and co-heirs, when Margaret the second sister, became possessed of the Manor of Thornbury. She was first married to the notorious Piers Gaveston,

[b] The Castle and Manor of Thornbury formed part of the Honour of Gloucester, which was possessed by Earl Robert, in right of his wife. His courtship is celebrated in monkish rhyme, by Robert of Gloucester. He became a strenuous supporter of the Empress Maud, and was the chief cause of her success. He built the Castles of Cardiff and Bristol, and dying in 1147, was buried in the choir of the Priory of St. James, at Bristol, of which he was the founder. Some curious sculptures in the abbey church of Romsey are supposed to relate to this Robert.

[c] This noble family were Counts of Brion in Normandy, and descended from its Dukes. Gilbert, the Son of this mar-

by whom she had no surviving issue; and secondly, to Hugh de Aldithley,[d] or Audley, by whom she had an only daughter and heir, Margaret, who became the wife of Ralph de Stafford, Earl of Stafford,[e] and

riage, was Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and he, as also his father, was one of the Barons who enforced Magna Charta. He died in 1229, and was buried in the midst of the choir at Tewkesbury. His son Richard succeeded, and dying in 1262, was buried on the right of his father in the same Abbey. Gilbert, his son, the next Earl, previous to his marriage with Joan de Acres, the daughter of Edward the 1st, surrendered to that monarch all his Castles and Manors, and amongst them the Manor of Thornbury, which however were all regranted and settled on their issue. He died in 1295, and was buried on the left of his grandfather, at Tewksbury. His eldest daughter became the wife of Hugh Le Despencer the younger.

[d] The father of this Hugh de Audley, was one of the great opponents of the Spencers, and the feud was continued by the son, who armed all his adherents in a fierce contest against William la Zouche, of Mortimer, who had married Hugh le Despencer's widow the daughter of Gilbert de Clare. The Earldom of Gloucester was held by Hugh de Audley, and became extinct at his death, in 1347.

[e] Their son Hugh succeeded to the inheritance. This Hugh is stated in an old MS. to have done "manie noble dedis"

carried the inheritance of her ancestors into that [illegible]. In their male descendants it continued for [illegible] ie [illegible] nt- [illegible] d,

Dunston F278

"and after his body was [illegible] at "Stone, (Staffordshire) with his wyfe, daughter of the Erle of "Warwyk." The line was carried on by his younger son Edmund, who married Anne the daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, and being killed in the famous battle of Shrewsbury, in 1403, was buried in the choir of the Friars Augustines at Stafford. Humphrey his son was created Duke of Buckingham, and he also was slain in the battle at Northampton, in 1459, being succeeded by Henry his grandson, "high reaching Buckingham," who after helping Richard to his crown, "to buckle fortune on his back," became his first victim. Duke Edward, of whom hereafter, was his son and successor, and doomed to perish, like his father, on the scaffold.

[f] Henry Stafford, son and heir of Duke Edward, was summoned to parliament as Baron Stafford, by Edward the 6th, in 1548. He was succeeded by Edward his son, who was succeeded by Edward his son, who in turn was succeeded by his grandson Henry, son of his son Edward, who died in his father's lifetime. Henry died without issue, in 1637, when the title devolved to his cousin Roger Stafford, but of which

fifth, in descent from Edward, Duke of Buckingham, (the founder of the Castle) died in 1637; when Mary, his only sister and heir succeeded, and became wife of

he was most unjustly deprived on account of his poverty. At his decease, in 1640, this Barony terminated in default of male issue.

Among the Lansdown MSS. in the British Museum, is a letter from Henry Lord Stafford, son of Duke Edward, to Lord Burghley, which is characteristic of the times, and shows how much reduced were the fortunes of this family after the Duke's execution and attainder.

"May this please your Lordship to understand, that "whereas my good Lord and cheefist of my kynne th' Erle of "Huntingdon, not only too yeeres past, but also within this "fortnight, dealt with a riche citizen for his only daughter "and heire to be marryed unto my sonne, (wch citizen pre- "tending that he will not matche with any other than of his "own trade. I presume that my old adversary, Alderman "Heyward, doth drawe him from herkenyng to th' onorable "motion of my said Lord,) and therefore my peticion unto "yr. Lp. is no otherwis, but that it may please you to send "for the man at such tyme as yor pleasure shalbe to appoint "him and me to wayt upon you, at wch tyme I will in few "words make him so reasonable an offer, as I trust he will "not dys allowe, so humbly I leave your good Lp. to the "protection of the Eternall God. STAFFORD."

Sir William Howard, K. B.[s] second surviving son of Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who, in 1640, was created Viscount Stafford. His son, Henry Stafford Howard, inherited the Castle and Manor, and was created Earl of Stafford in 1688.

[s] This ill fated nobleman fell a victim to the testimony of the notorious Titus Oates, and was executed as a traitor, on Tower Hill, December 29, 1680. No one, we think, can read the trial of Lord Stafford, the account of his demeanour, and the report of his last speech, (which is given at great length in the State trials) without an entire conviction, that he was sacrificed to the heated passions, and intolerant prejudices of the times. Four Catholic Peers, namely, the Earl of Powis, Lord Petre, Lord Arundel, of Wardour, and Lord Bellasys were committed to the Tower, together with Lord Stafford, October 1678, but were not brought to trial. Lord Petre died in the Tower, the others were detained till the 22nd of May, 1685. All this in defiance of the Great Charter, and of the common Law of England. Sir William Howard and Mary his wife, were created Baron and Baroness Stafford, 12 Car. I. and he was immediately afterwards created Viscount Stafford. The rank of Countess was given to his widow in 1688, and she died in 1693. Tardy justice was rendered to his memory, by reversal of his attainder in June, 1824.

In 1727, his Grandsons, William Earl of Stafford and John Paul Stafford Howard,[h] (who eventually succeeded, and was the last Earl of Stafford,) conveyed the Castle and Manor of Thornbury to Edward Howard, Duke of Norfolk, by whom they were, in 1776, settled on Henry Thomas Howard, second son of Henry Howard of Glossop, in the County of Derby, Esquire. Mr. Howard represented Gloucester, of which City he was elected High Steward, from 1794 to 1818. On the succession of his elder brother, the present Duke, to the Dukedom of Norfolk, in 1815, he was placed in the precedency of a Duke's younger son; and officiated as Deputy Earl Marshal of England, until his death, in June, 1824, when the Castle and Manor of Thornbury devolved on his only son Henry Howard, of Greystoke Castle, in the County of Cumberland, Esquire, the present possessor.

[h] Henry Stafford Howard, eldest son of William Visoount Stafford, was created Earl of Stafford, with remainder to the male issue of his brothers. He died in 1719, and was succeeded by his nephew, William Stafford Howard, to whom succeeded William Mathias Howard, his son and heir, at whose death in 1751, S.P. the title devolved on his uncle, John Paul Stafford Howard, who died in 1762, when the Earldom became extinct.

It may here be observed that, although Edward Duke of Norfolk acquired this property by purchase, (the lineal representation of Edward Duke of Buckingham being vested in the present Baron Stafford.[1]) he (as is also the present owner, Mr. Howard of Greystoke) was descended from the Duke of Buckingham, by the marriage of that Duke's eldest daughter, Elizabeth Stafford, to Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk.

The building of this Castle, now in ruins, was begun by Edward Duke of Buckingham, in the 2nd year of the reign of Henry the 8th, in which year he had

[1] Sir George Jerningham, upon the reversal of the attainder of William Howard Viscount Stafford, succeeded, in 1824, to the Barony of Stafford, created in 1640. His grandmother, Mary Plowden, being daughter, and heir of Francis Plowden, by Mary Stafford Howard, sister, and eventually sole heir, of John Paul Stafford Howard, last Earl of Stafford.

The Ancient Barony of Stafford, created by writ, in 1299, as also the other titles, became forfeited by the attainder, not since reversed, of Edward Duke of Buckingham. The Viscountcy, and the subsequently created Earldom, expired in default of issue male.—*Vide Nicolas's Synopsis of the Peerage.*

license to impark 1000 acres within his Lordship of Thornbury.

There is nothing very remarkable in the early history of this distinguished nobleman. He was employed against the rebels, who sided with Perkin Warbeck, and is then described by Hall, as "a Younge Prince of a greate courage, and of a syngular good wit."

At the famous field of the Cloth of Gold, he far outshone the splendour of his brother nobles. Although in the words of Shakespeare he says,

"An untimely ague
"Stayed me a prisoner in my chamber, when
"Those suns of glory, those two lights of men,
"Met in the vale of Arde."[k]

Lord Herbert of Cherbury relates, in his life of Henry the 8th, that "about this time, Edward "Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, eminent for his high "blood, and large revenue, drew on himself a dangerous "suspicion; which, though it was again fomented by "the Cardinal,[l] who disaffected him for some speeches

[k] Henry the 8th, Act 1. Scene 1.

[l] Thomas Wolsey, the son of a Butcher at Ipswich, by his

" he had cast forth, yet could not have overthrown him ;
" but that some indiscretion of his own concurred."

arrogant demeanour, and the state he assumed, gave, according to the Historians of the time, great offence to the ancient nobility ; and Buckingham, expecially, seems not to have concealed his contempt and dislike. The speech which Shakespeare puts into his mouth, may therefore be fairly supposed to represent his feelings.

" This Butcher's cur is venomed mouth'd, and I
" Have not the power to muzzle him ; therefore best
" Not wake him in his slumber, a Beggar's book
" Outworth's a Noble's blood."

Again

" I'll to the King ;
" And from a mouth of honour quite cry down
" This Ipswich fellow's insolence, or proclaim
" There's difference in no persons." Act 1. Scene 1.

The Cardinal certainly did not practise the christian virtues of meekness and forbearance. A ridiculous incident is said on one occasion to have occurred, which might have tended to exasperate their quarrel. The Duke one day after dinner, was according to the accustomed ceremonial, on his knees holding a bason of water to the King, who had just finished washing, and turned away. The Cardinal, before the Duke could alter his posture, sportingly dipped in his hand, which

He was arrested in April 1521, and accused of high treason, "for certain words spoken"—"inferring that "the said duke intended to exalt himself, and to usurp "the crowne, royale power, and dignitie of the Realme "of England, and to deprive the King thereof." Of the "words spoken," we have the following record, viz. that, being at Thornbury, he spoke these words unto Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland. "Well, there are but "two Dukes created in England, but if ought but 'good comes to the King, the Duke of Buckingham "should be next in blood to succeed to the crowne."[m]

so offended the haughty Buckingham, that rising in a rage, he threw the water into Wolsey's shoes. The Cardinal in his turn being greatly incensed, threatened that he would sit on his skirts. On the morrow the Duke came to court *without skirts* to his doublet, the King demanding the reason thereof, Buckingham related the Cardinal's menace, saying, he had taken this method to prevent his putting it in execution.

[m] Henry Duke of Buckingham, the father of Duke Edward, had some crude and indefinite notion of a right to the throne, which Hall details in a discourse between him and Morton, Bishop of Ely. Henry the 8th's title was clear through his mother, and even if we were to "infer the bastardy of Edward's children," the Poles were the next in succession, after the murder of Clarence's son, by Henry the 7th.

The principal witness against him was his steward, Charles Knyvett.[n] The account given by Hall, in his Chronicles, of the Duke's deportment, on hearing his sentence, is as follows.

[n] Of Charles Knyvett we find that he was first cousin to the Duke, being the younger son of Sir William Knyvett, by Joan, daughter of Humphrey, the Duke's grandfather, and brother of Sir Edmund Knyvett, of Buckenham in Norfolk. Vincent, in a note to the Pedigree of Knyvett, contained in his visitation of Norfolk, says, "This Charles was Steward "to Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who, anno 1520, "being discharged by him from his service, upon the Exita- "tion of his Tenants for exacting on them, became instru- "mental to the overthrow of the great Duke; so fatal was it "to the House of the Staffords to suffer by their servants."

The Duke is made by Shakspeare to say, after his arraignment,

"I had my trial,
"And must needs say a noble one; which makes me
"Happier than my wretched Father,
"Yet thus far we are one in fortunes,—Both
"Fell by our Servants, by those men we lov'd most;
"A most unnatural and faithless service!
"Heaven has an end in all. Yet you that hear me,
"This from a dying man receive as certain:

"The Duke was brought to the barre sorre chafyng "and swette mervaillously; after he had made his "reverence, he paused awhile—

"The Duke of Norfolke as a judge sayd, Sir "Edward, you have heard how you be endited of high "treason, you pleaded thereto not giltie, puttyng your- "selfe to the Peres of the Realme, the which have "found you giltie. Then the Duke of Northfolke "wept and sayd, you shall be ledde to the Kynge's "Prison, and there layde on a herdell, and so drawen "to the place of execution, and there to be hanged, "cutte downe alive, your members to be cutte of, and "cast into the fyer, your bowells burnt before you, "your heade smytten of, and your bodie quartered "and devyded at the Kynge's will; and Gode have "mercie on your soule. Amen."

"When you are liberal of your loves, and counsels,
"Be sure you be not loose, for those you make your friends
"And give your hearts to, when they once perceive
"The least rub in your fortunes, fall away
"Like water from ye, never found again
"But where they mean to sink ye."

Act 2. Scene 1.

The Duke's conduct on this occasion, is represented to have been manly and dignified. His reply to the awful sentence was,

" My Lord of Norfolk, you have said as a traitor " should be said unto, but I was never one; but, my " Lords, I nothing malign for what you have done unto " me; and may the eternal God forgive you my death " as I do; nor will I ever sue to the King for life; so I " desire you my Lords, and all my fellows, to pray for " me." Whereupon he was conducted back to the Tower, where all the favour he received was a messuage from the King, declaring his sentence was mitigated so far, that instead of receiving the death of a traitor, he should have only his head cut off.

Thus fell by the hand of the executioner, on Tower Hill, the 17th May, 1521, " Bounteous Buckingham, the mirror of all courtesy," being the fourth of his family in succession who had perished by a violent death. Full particulars will be found in the State Trials, and in Stowe's Chronicles, also in Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Life of Henry the 8th, printed in Kennet's History.

After the Execution of Duke Edward, the Castle

remained in an unfinished state. The whole of his vast possessions had been seized by the Crown, and though his Son Henry had a grant of the Castle of Stafford, and other lands, 23rd Henry 8th; it was not till the reign of Queen Mary that this Castle was restored to him. No doubt in the interval, great dilapidations must have taken place. We are told by Leland, who performed his Antiquarian journeys in the reign of Henry the 8th, and saw this Castle about twenty years after the Duke's death, that,

"There was of aunciente tyme a maner place, but of "no great estimacion,[o] hard by the Northe syde of "the Paroche Churche.[p] Edward, late Duke of "Bukkyngham likynge the soyle aboute, and the site "of the Howse, pullyd downe a greate parte of the olde "Howse and sette up magnificently in good squared

[o] This may possibly have been part of the residence of Lord Audley.

[p] Leland says, "the Paroche Churche is in the north ende "of the Towne a fayre pece of worke. Whereof the holle, "savinge the Chaunsell hathe been builded *in hominum me-* "*moria.*" Itin. Vol. vii. Fol. 74. The Church was erected in the reign of Edward 4th, and affords a fine example of the beautiful light Towers of that period.

"Stone, the Southe syde of it, and accomplishyd the "west Parte also withe a right comely Gate-Howse to "the first soyle; and so it stondithe yet with a Rofe "forced for a tyme.

"This inscription on the Fronte of the Gate "Howse: *This Gate was begon in the yere of our Lorde* "*God* 1511. *the* 2. *Yere of the Reigne of Kynge Henry* "*the* viii. *by me*, Edward *Duke of* Bukkingham, *Erle of* "Hereford, Staforde *and* Northampton.

"The Duke's Worde

"*Dorene savant.*

"The foundation of a very spacious base Courte was "there begon, and certeyne gates, and Towres in it "Castelle lyke. It is of a iiii or v yardes highe, and "so remaynithe a token of a noble peace of worke "purposid.

"There was a Galery of Tymbre in the Bake syde "of the Howse joyning to the North syde of the "Paroche Churche.

"Edward Duke Bukkyngham made a fayre Parke "hard by the Castle, and tooke muche faire grownd "in it very frutefull of Corne, now fayr launds for

"Coursynge. The Inhabitants cursyd the Duke for "thes lands so inclosyd.

"There cummithe an Armelet of Sevrne ebbynge and "flowyng into this Parke. Duke Edward had thought "to have trenchyd there, and to have browght it up "to the Castle.

"There was a Parke by the Maner of Thornebyry "afore, and yet is caullyd Morlewodde.

"There was also afore Duke Edward's tyme a "Parke at Estewood a myle or more of: but Duke "Edward at 2 tymes enlargyd it to the compace of 6 "myles not without many Curses of the poore Tenaunts."

The 25th Volume of the Archœologia contains an interesting paper respecting Thornbury, communicated by Mr. Gage, now Mr. Gage Rokewode. He gives the following extract from a Book of the Survey of the Duke of Buckingham's lands now preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster.

"*Thornburye. The Manor Place.* The Manor or "Castell ther standeth on the north side of the P'ishe "Churche, having an ynnerwarde, and an utterwarde

"iiii square, the commyng and enterring into the said "ynnerwarde is on the west side. The South side is "fully fynished w^t curious workes and stately Loggings. "The said weste side and north side be but buylded to "oon chambre height. All thees works being of fair "assheler and so coverde w^t a fals rove of elme, and "the same coverde with light slate.

"The Este side conteyning the Hall and other "howses of Office is all of the oolde buylding and of an "homely facon.

"The utterwarde was intended to have been large, "w^t many loggings, whereof the foundacon in the north "and west side is taken and brought up nigh to laying "on a floor; the window frames, and cewnes with other "like things are wrought of freestone, and the residue "of rough stoon caste with lyme sande.

"*Garden.* On the south Side of the said ynnerwarde "is a proper garden, and about the same a goodly "Galery conveying above and beneth from the principall "loggings booth to the Chapell and P'ishe Churche, the "utterpart of the said gallery being of stoon imbattled, "and the ynner parte of tymbre covered w^t slate.

"On the Este side of the said Castell or Manor is a "goodly gardeyn to walke ynne closed with high walles "imbattled. The conveyance thider is by the Gallery, "above and beneth, and by other privie waies.

"Beside the same privie gardeyn is a large and "a goodly orcharde full of younge grafftes well loden "w^t frute, many rooses, and other pleasures; and in "the same orcharde ar many goodly alies to walke ynne "oppenly; and rounde aboute the same orcharde is "covered on a good height, other goodly alies with "roosting places coverde thoroughly with white thorne "and hasill, and w^tout the same on the utter parte the "said orcharde is inclosed w^t sawen pale, and w^toute "that, ditches and quickset heggs.

[q] "*The New Parke.* From out of the said orcharde "ar divers posterns in sundry places, at pleasur to goe "and entre into a goodly parke newly made, called the "New Parke, having in the same no great plenty of "wood, but many heggs rowes of thorne and great Elmes.

[q] Now the property of Henry Wenman Newman, Esq. who has recently built a large modern mansion contiguous to the ruins, from which it forms a conspicuous object.

" The same Parke conteynneth nigh upon iii myles " about, and in the same be vij^{c} der or mor.

" The herbage ther is goodly and plentious, and " beside finding of the said vij^{c} dere by estimacon, being " none otherwise charged, woll make ten poundes to- " wards the keepers wags and fees.

" The late Duke of Bukkyngham hath inclosed into " the said parke divers mennes landes as well of freeholde " as copyholde, and noe recompence as yet is made for " the same, and lately he hath also enclosed in the same " parke ij fair tenements w^{t} barnes and other houses " well buylded with stone and slate, with v^{c} acres of " lande, and as yet the tennts contynue in, wherein of " necessitie some redresse muste be, either in removing " the said tennts from out of the Parke with convenient " recompence, or elles in taking inne the pale as it stode " afore, &c.

" *The Park* called *Marlwood.* Nigh to the said " Newe Parke there is another parke called Marlwood, " noething being between them but the bredth of an high " waie, which parke is proper and a parkely grounde " conteyning about nigh iij myles, and in the same parke " at the leaste be iij^{c} dere, &c.

"*The Parke* called *Estewood*. There is another goodly "Parke called Estewood, which is ij myles of the said "Castell, or Maner, conteyning about vij myles, being a "goodly and a parklike grounde, and having in hit at the "leiste v^{c} fallow dere and fifty red dere, &c.

"*The Conyngry*. Item, there is a Conyngry, called "Milborowe heth, graunted by the King to John "Houteleye, whereof ther is great exclamacon for clos-"ing ynne of freeholdes and copyholdes, now being lette "by the said John for iiij^{li} and by the old presidents "was but at iiij^{s} iiij^{d}."

"The rents and farms," says Mr. Gage, "decayed in "the Lordship of Thornbury by the inclosures taken into "the three Parks amounted to £48. 19. 4. The total "value of the Lordship, was £238. 11 5$\frac{3}{4}$ exclusive of "Filmer wood, containing 100 acres, valued at £66. "13. 4. The number of the manrood was 175, and "there were many bondmen of good substance."

In the same paper, Mr. Gage has given some curious extracts from the Stafford Household Book, for the Christmas quarter of the year 1507, and now in the library of Lord Bagot.

It will be sufficient, without enumerating the quantity

of viands, to state the nnmber of the guests on some of these festive occasions. For instance, On Christmas day, there dined at my Lord Duke's cost, 95 gentry, 107 yeomen or valets, and 97 garcons, or grooms; and supped 84 gentry, 114 valets and 92 garcons. At the feast of the Epiphany, there dined 134 gentry, 188 yeomen or valets, and 197 garcons, or grooms; and supped 126 gentry, 176 valets, and 98 garcons.

It does not appear that there were any very distinguished guests at Christmas, but, at the feast of the Epiphany, we find (besides "the Lady Anne," the Duke's daughter,) Sir Robert Poyntz, Sir Edmond Gorges, Sir John Rodney, Maurice, Richard, and James Berkley, Anthony Poyntz, and others, all of whom appeared attended by retainers. On the 28th of February, the Duke journeyed to Richmond, and thence to London; sleeping the first day at Chippenham, the second at Newbury, the third at Reading, the fourth at Brentford, and reaching Richmond on the fifth. He travelled, attended by 20 gentry, 14 valets, and 29 grooms; and had 59 horses used by his household, and 28 by himself.

We shall now give a very particular and interesting description of Thornbury Castle, which was printed

from a Manuscript, in the possession of Thomas Astle, Esq. at the end of Vol. 2nd, of the "*editio altera*" of Leland's Collectanea, published in 1770. It is stated to be found by the jury at a Court of Survey, on the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th days of March in the 5th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth in the year 1582. But, as the Queen's reign commenced November 17th A.D. 1558, if this Survey was made in 5th year, it must have been in 1562; or if the year 1582 be correct, the survey was made in the 25th of Elizabeth.

Mr. Gage, however, in his paper in the Archœologia states that the survey was made in the reign of James the 1st. He refers to Rudder's History of Gloucestershire, who says, "I have been favoured with a more "particular description of this Castle, written as I con- "jecture about the time of King James the 1st."

That our readers may the better understand, and be enabled to apply this survey to the present condition of the Castle we annex a ground plan; the index to which specifies the principal rooms therein described.

THE HOUSE OR CASTLE OF THORNBURY,

Containing these Rooms following.

"The house or Castle of Thornbury aforesaid, is stand-

Entra
Gatea



"ing, and being within two miles of the river Seaverne "which runeth on the north thereof, and is bounded, and "adjoyned unto the Church-yard of the Parish Church of "Thornbury aforesaid on the south part; the Park there, "called New Park on the "North and East part; and "one small parcel of ground called the Petties, on the "West part.

"At the first entry towards the said Castle is a fair "base Court,[r] containing by estimation 2½ Acres, com- "passed about with buildings of stone for servants' "lodging, to the height of 14 or 15 feet left unfinished "without timber or covering, set forth with windows of "freestone, some having bars of iron in them, some none.

"At the entry into the Castle, on the West side of

[r] A Bird's Eye view of Thornbury Castle, was published by S. and N. Buck, in 1732; which shows this Court in a more perfect state than it is at present. It was to have had large arched gates, on the North and South Sides, with a postern door to each, and various turrets projected from the front walls of the buidings. The accompanying Lithographic Drawing is copied from Buck's print. In the edition of Leland above-mentioned, is also a small View of the inner Court, looking towards the gateway.

" the same, are two Gates a large, and a lesser, with " a Wyck gate. On the left hand there is a Porter's " Lodge, containing three rooms, with a dungeon under- " neath the same, for a place of imprisonment. Next " adjoyning unto the same is a fair room, call'd the " Dukes Wardropp, with a Chimney therein. Within " the same is a fair room, or lodging Chamber, with " a Cellar or Vault underneath the same. Over all " which are four lodging Chambers with Chimneys.

" On the right hand of the said gates are two fair " rooms, called the Duchess's Wardropp, and over them " are two fair Chambers, called the Steward's Chambers, " Within all which is a court quadrant, paved with " Stone, containing by estimation half an Acre, encom- " passed with the Castle buildings, and leading from " the gates aforesaid to the great Hall, at the entry " whereof is a porch, and to the right hand of a small " room called the [*sic orig.*] On the left or North " side of the said Court is one fair wet Larder, a dry " Larder, a Privy, a Bakehouse, and Boyling house, " with an entry leading from all the same rooms of " Office, to the Great Kitchen; over all which are " Chambers for ordinary Lodging, and over the same " again is one long room, called the Cock-loft. The " Great Kitchen having two fair flues or Chimneys, and

" one lesser Chimney, and within the same Kitchen is " a privy Kitchen, over which is a lodging chamber " over which is a lodging chamber for Cooks.

" On the back side of which last recited building, are " certain decay'd buildings, sometimes used for a Bake- " house, and Armery,[s] with certain decay'd lodgings " over the same.

" From the great Kitchen (leading to the great Hall) " is an Entry on the one side, whereof is a decay'd " room called the Scullery, with a large flue or Chimney " therein, and a Pantry to the same adjoyning. On " the other side of the entry are two old decay'd rooms, " heretofore used for Clerks, on the back side whereof " is a little Court adjoining to the said Kitchen, and " in the same is a fair well or pump for Water, partly " decay'd; between which decay'd cellars, at the lower " end of the said Hall is a Buttery, over all which " recited rooms are four Chambers, called the Earl of " Stafford's lodgings, partly decay'd, with one room " call'd the Clerk's Treasury thereunto adjoyning.

[s] The Almery or Almonry, was an office in which Alms were distributed to the poor. It is erroneously called the Armery in the printed copy.

" From the lower end of the great Hall is an entry " leading to the Chapel; at the corner of the entry is a " cellar. The upper part of the Chapel is a fair Room for " people to stand in at service time, and over the same " are two rooms, or partitions, with each of them a " chimney, where the Duke and Duchess used to sit " and hear service in the Chapel; the body of the " Chapel itself fair built, having 22 settles or wains- " cotes, about the same for Priests, Clerks, and " Queristers; the great Hall fair and large, with a " hearth to make fire on in the midst thereof.

" Adjoyning to the upper end of the same Hall is one " other room call'd the old Hall, with a Chimney in " the same. Next adjoining to the same is a fair " Cloyster or walk, paved with brick paving leading " from the Duchess's lodging to the Privy Garden, " which garden is four square, containing about the " third part of one acre, three squares whereof are com- " passed about with a fair Cloyster or walk, paved with " brick paving, and the fourth square bounded with the " principal parts of the Castle, called the new-building; " over all which last recited Cloyster is a fair large " Gallery and out of the same Gallery goeth one other " Gallery leading to the parish Church of Thornbury " aforesaid, at the end whereof is a fair room with a

" Chimney, and a window into the said Church, where " the Duke sometimes used to hear service in the " same Church. Near adjoyning unto the said large " Gallery are certain rooms, and lodgings called the " Earl of Bedford's * lodgings containing 13 rooms, " whereof 6 are below, 3 of them having chimneys in " them; and 7 above, whereof 4 have chimneys likewise. " All of which houses, buildings and rooms afore men- " tioned are for the most part built with freestone, and " covered with Slate or tile.

" The lower part of the principal building of the Cas- " tle is called the New-building at the West end there- " of is a fair Tower; in which lower building is con- " tained one great Chamber, with a chimney in the " same, the ceiling and timber work thereof decay'd, " being propped up with certain pieces of other timber;

* It seems difficult to account for these apartments being called "The Earl of Bedford's lodgings." Jasper Tudor, the uncle of Henry the 7th, by whom he was created Duke of Bedford, married Katherine the widow of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, beheaded by Richard the 3rd, 1483. Jasper died in 1495: and from that time the title was extinct, until Edward the 6th created Sir John Russell, Earl of Bedford in 1549.

" within the same is one other fair Chamber with a chim-
" ney therein; and within the same again is one other fair
" lodging Chamber with a chimney therein called the
" Duchess's lodgings with one little room or closet between
" the two last recited Chambers: within all which is one
" room, being the foundation or lowermost part of the said
" Tower, called the Duchess's Closet, with a Chimney
" therein, from the which said Duchess's lodging, lead-
" eth a fair Gallery paved with brick, and a Stayer at the
" end thereof, ascending to the Duke's lodging being
" over the same, used for a privy way. From the upper
" end of the great Hall, a stayer ascending up towards
" the great Chamber, at the top whereof are two
" lodging rooms. Leading from the Stayers head to
" the great Chamber, is a fair room paved with brick;
" and a chimney in the same, at the end whereof doth
" meet a fair gallery leading from the great chamber to
" the Earl of Bedford's lodging on the one side,
" and to the Chapel on the other side; the great
" Chamber very fair, with a chimney therein. Within
" the same is one other fair chamber, called the dining
" chamber, and a chimney therein likewise and within
" that again is one other Chamber with a chimney
" therein also, called the Privy Chamber and within the
" same again is one other Chamber or Closet, called the
" Duke's Jewell Chamber. Next unto the privy

" Chamber, on the inner part thereof, is a fair round " Chamber, being the 2nd Story of the Tower, called " the Duke's bed chamber (like unto the same,) being " the 3rd Story of the Tower, and so upwards, " to answer a like chamber, over the same, called " the same again, where the Evedeuts do lye.[t] " All which last recited buildings, called the New " buildings, are builded fair with freestone, covered " with lead, and [*sic orig.*]

" On the East side of the said Castle is one other " Garden, containing by Estimation $\frac{2}{4}$ of an acre, adjoin- " ing upon the Earl of Bedford's lodging; at the West " corner whereof is a little void Court of waste ground. " On the North side of the Castle adjoyning upon the " Chapel, is a little Orchard, containing by estimation " half an Acre, well set with trees of divers kind of fruits. " All which Castle Buildings, Courts, Orchards, " and Gardens Aforesaid are wall'd round about with " a wall of Stone, part ruined and decay'd in divers " places thereof, containing in circuit and quantity, by " estimation, 12 Acres of ground or thereabouts. On

[t] The uppermost Chamber in a Tower, was commonly chosen as a place of security for Title-Deeds, Charters, and other valuable documents.

" the East side of the said Castle, adjoining to the " utter side of the Wall thereof is one fair Orchard " quadrant, containing by estimation 4 Acres, paled " about well, and thick set with fruit trees of divers " kinds of fruit."

Since the period of this Survey, all the older parts of the Castle, comprising a great number of rooms as therein mentioned, have been wholly destroyed; and much injury has unfortunately been done to the ornamental parts within the last Century. The remarks made by Horace Walpole, in a letter to his friend the Rev. Wm. Cole, dated August 15, 1774, and published in vol. 75 of the Gentleman's Magazine, may be interesting.

" From Berkeley Castle I went to Thornbury, of " which the ruins are half ruined, it would have been " glorious if finished. I wish the Lords of Berkeley had " retained the spirit of deposing till Harry the 8th's " time. The situation is fine, though that was not the " fashion; for all the windows of the great apartment " look into the inner Court. The prospect was left to the " servants, Here I had two adventures; I could find no- " body to shew me about. I saw a paltry house that I took " for the sexton's at the corner of the Close, and bade " my servant ring, and ask who could shew me the

" Castle. A voice in a passion flew from a casement,
" and issued from a Divine: ' What! what! was it his
" business to shew the Castle! go look for somebody else!
" What did the fellow ring for, as if the house was on
" fire!' The poor Swiss came back in a fright, and said,
" the Doctor had sworn at him. Well, we scrambled
" over a stone style, saw a room or two glazed near the
" Gate, and rung at it. A damsel came forth and
" satisfied our curiosity. When we had done seeing, I
" said, ' Child, we dont know our way, and want to be
" directed into the London road; I see the Duke's
" Steward yonder at the window; pray desire him to
" come to me, that I may consult him. She went, he
" stood staring at us at the window, and sent his footman.
" I do not think courtesy is resident at Thornbury. As
" I returned through the close, the Divine came running
" out of breath, and without his beaver or band, and
" calls out, ' Sir, I am come to justify myself, your
" Servant says I swore at him; I am no swearer—Lord
" bless me! (dropping his voice) is it Mr. Walpole'?
" ' Yes Sir, and I think you was Lord Beauchamp's
" Tutor at Oxford; but I have forgot your name,'
" ' Holwell, Sir;' ' Oh yes.' And then I comforted him,
" and laid the ill-breeding on my footman's being a
" foreigner; but could not help saying, I really had
" taken his house for the Sexton's. ' Yes, Sir, it is not

" very good without; won't you please to walk in?' I " did, and found the inside ten times worse, and a lean " wife suckling a child. He was making an Index to " Homer; is going to publish the chief beauties; and " I believe, had just been reading some of the delicate " civilities that pass between Agamemnon and Achilles, " and that what my servant took for oaths, were only " Greek compliments."

We trust that strangers have now no cause to complain of a want of courtesy at Thornbury. Hundreds of persons during the summer months are induced to visit these ruins, especially on the occasion of the Horticultural shows which, by permission of the owner, have lately been held in the South Court.

The picturesque features which the Castle and the Church present, form undoubtedly the chief attraction, but there is also much deserving the attention of those who take an interest in the study of English Architecture.

With this view, the late Mr. Pugin devoted to this Castle much time and labour. His excellent work, " The examples of Gothic Architecture," (which has been continued by his son, Mr. A. Welby Pugin,) con-

tains in Vol. 2nd, several drawings, plans, and details, as also a short notice of the Architecture, &c. from which we have already made some, and in conclusion, shall give further extracts. He truly says, "the elaborate and beautiful style of the Windows, Chimneys, and other ornaments, has often formed the subject of picturesque views, but the details have never before been displayed in a manner calculated for practical imitation."

The whole extent of the western front is about 205 feet. It would doubtless have exhibited a magnificent elevation, had not the untimely fate of the founder put a stop to the work. The height of the Southern Tower was about 67 feet, with its battlements complete, and the Northern Tower would of course have corresponded with its fellow in the elevation as it does in the plan. The Tower of the Gateway in the centre would have been of the same height, and its turrets would have risen to the same altitude as that attached to the Southern Tower.

The intermediate parts would probably have been only about half the height of the Tower, according to the proportions we find in other Mansions, Colleges, &c.

for instance, Magdalen[u] and other Colleges at Oxford.

At present, the front only rises to the height of 20 feet, with the exception of the South Tower, and a Turret on that side of the Gateway. The Steward's Chambers Southward of the entrance are still covered with the temporary roof, mentioned by Leland, and have been kept in a habitable state.

Of the South front, Mr. Pugin considers the larger Windows to be particularly worthy of notice, as examples of the last and most elaborate style of tracery, adapted to domestic Architecture.

The Bay Windows of the two Eastern Rooms, exhibit a studied dissimilarity of ornaments;[v] each of

[u] The Duke founded Magdalene College, *Cambridge*, but the endowment was not completed by him, and afterwards merged in the establishment formed by Sir Thomas Audley, in 1542.

[v] A capricious taste in Windows was characteristic of the latest style of Gothic Architecture. We find Bay Windows esembling these in the Aisles and Oratories, of Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

them very curious. The plan of the lower Window has several angular projections, whilst that of the upper one is composed of five circular compartments.

The Upper Window which gave light to the room, called in the survey the Great Chamber, is profusely studded on the inside with the Armorial badges of the Duke's family.

The Bay Windows in the two central rooms correspond to these in elevation, but are narrower and less elaborate in their plans, particularly the upper one which has a simple angular projection.

All the details must have been designed by men who were well versed in the most complicated forms of Masonry, and are worthy of the Architect's careful examination.

The Chimneys in the front are most elaborately decorated. Those on the Tower are of Stone. The double one, on the right hand, is of brick. The single tunnel, ornamented with spiral mouldings, had originally a cover which was perforated at the sides, for letting out the smoke, and finished at the top by a slender pinnacle. It seems rather extraordinary that

brick should have been adopted as the material for Chimneys placed on stone, but it was evidently not done with a view to economy, as the construction is extremely elaborate and costly; for instance, in the brick Chimneys of the North front belonging to the "Dining Chamber," and the room beneath. The Shields on the left hand are charged, alternately, with the Stafford Knot, and an Antelope sejant. The date of this curious piece of workmanship is carved in brick at the base, Anno Christi, 1514.

The Western Gateway requires some notice.

It has a postern door on the North side of the principal Gates, but the Arch towards the inner Court comprehends the breadth of both. The Groove for a portcullis is shown, but the portcullis and Gates no longer exist. The Scroll over the Gateway, which is much defaced, bears this inscription;

Thys Gate. was. begun. in. the Yere. of. owre. Lorde Gode MCCCCCXI. the ii. Yere. of. the. Reyne. of. Kynge Henri the. viii. by. me. Edw. Duc. of. Bukkyngha. Erll. of Herforde. Staffordе. andе Northampto.

On one of the Scrolls below, is inscribed Doresenavant:w

w "The Duke's Worde." *Doresnavant, Dorénavant,* or,



The duc of Bucbyngham
Edward erll of Hereford
Stafford z northampton
knyght of the garter.

J. Nethercliff. Lithog.

on the corresponding one, was probably Deo. Gratias; but it is now effaced. Over the centre is a shield, charged with the Duke's Arms Quarterly of four Coats, within a Garter.

These quarterings are 1st. England within a border. 2nd. Bohun, Earl of Hereford. 3rd. Stafford. 4th. Bohun, Earl of Northampton.

The accompanying Plate is taken from his Standard as drawn in a book, at the College of Arms. It is supported by an Heraldic Antelope argent, ducally crowned and chained Or. The Crest of the Family was a Swan argent. That, and the Antelope, were cognizances used by Henry iv. The first being a badge of the Bohuns; the latter an ancient bearing of the Lancasters.[y]

Dores-en-avant, an old french word, signifying 'hence forward,' or 'hereafter;' the alleged import of this oracular motto, viz. that the Duke looked forward to the Crown, proved most unfortunate.

[y] The quarterings of Bohun, and the connection with the house of Lancaster came through Eleanor, daughter and co-heir of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Northampton, married to Thomas of Woodstock. Henry the Fourth's Queen was the other co-heir.

When Henry, as Duke of Hereford, entered the lists against Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, he had the Antelope and the Swan embroidered on his caparisons of blue and green velvet.

Anne, Duchess of Buckingham, widow of the first Duke, and Daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, in her will proved in 1480, bequeaths to her daughter the Viscountess Beaumont, who was secondly married to Sir William Knyvett, "a bed of "the Salutation of our Ladye, with the hangings of the "Chamber of Antelopes."

Some ground for suspicion of Duke Edward's ambitious projects may have been afforded by his assumption (according to a Manuscript in the library of the College of Arms) of the Royal Lion on a cap of maintenance for his crest, as given in the vignette; while, on the contrary, his younger Brother, the Earl of Wiltshire, has, in the same Manuscript, the Swan argent, issuing from a ducal crown, the ancient crest of the family.

At the "degradynge" of Duke Edward, after his execution, there were present, (besides the Officers of Arms,) the Marquis of Dorset, Deputy for the King; the Earl of Essex; the Earl of Wiltshire (the Duke's

Brother,) the Earl of Kent; Sir Thomas Lovell; and the Lord Delaware. It took place in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, June 8th. The order was recited by Garter King at Arms, standing by the desk in the Choir, and when he came to the words "Expelled, "and put from among the Arms," "Somerset Herald," says the MS. "violently cast down into the quire his "Creste, his banner, and his sworde."

"And when" it continues, "the publication was all "doone, the Officers of arms, spurning his sayde hatch-"ment with theer fete out of the quire into the body of "the Churche; first the sworde, and then the banner, "and then was the Crest spurned, out of the sayd quire "through the Church out of the West dóores, and so "to the bridge where it was spurned down into the "ditche, and thus was the sayd Edward Duke of "Buckingham fully disgraded of the order."

When Henry Howard was created Earl of Stafford, the grant of supporters was omitted; they were, therefore, granted by the Earl Marshal, in 1720, to William Stafford Howard; and Austin, then Garter King at Arms, was ordered to "cause to be depicted the badges of the noble family of Stafford" in the margin. They are 18 in number, and as follow.

1st. Argent, a cross potent, counter crossed Or.

2nd. Barry Argent and Vert, a Lion rampant Gules ducally crowned, Or.

3rd. Party per pale Sable and Gules, on a wreath, azure and argent, a Swan Argent ducally gorged and chained, Or.

4th. Party per pale Sable and Gules, a Lion passant gardant, Or. ducally crowned and collared Argent.

5th. Party per pale, Sable and Gules a Knot, Or.

6th. Party per pale Sable and Gules on a wreath Azure and Argent, an Heraldic Antelope Argent horned and chained, ducally gorged Or.

7th. Party per pale Sable and Gules, a thunderbolt Or.

8th. Gules, a Griffin, a segreant, Or.

9th. Party per pale as before, a helmet in face, surmounted by a Sun, Or.

10th. Argent, a Lion rampant, Gules ducally crowned, Or.

11th. Party per pale as before, a Mantle Azure, lined Ermine, and tied, Or.

12th. Or sémée of Estoiles, Gules, a Lion rampant, gules, crowned Argent.

13th. Party per pale as before, an Eagle rising Azure the wing bones tipped, Or.

14th. Gules, a Sun Argent.

15th. Argent, a fret.

16th. Azure. 2 Fleurs de lys, between two fish hauriant, Or.

17th. Or 2 Strawberries, fructed proper.

18th. Gules, a Lion rampant, Argent ducally crowned Or.

These badges are also sketched in an old Manuscript Book, at the College of Arms, and described as having

been taken "out of a book of my Lord Stafford's."

This long detail of Heraldry may be tedious to many of our readers; we have however introduced it, because the more ornamental parts of the building are profusely decorated with the Armorial cognizances and badges of the family.



Crest borne by Edward, Duke of Buckingham.

Finis.

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